1: Jenness--89 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 586

"In cases of divorce the woman returns to her kinsfolk with all her property, and the man, who has generally no pot or lamp of his own, finds shelter with his people also. I do not know what becomes of the blubber pokes; probably, if they are filled with blubber, they are kept by the man."

1: Jenness--160 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 586

"For the first year or two at least a marriage is considered a kind of trial in which the young couple discover whether they can adapt themselves to each other and live together harmoniously or not. The girl may leave her husband at any time and return to her parents taking, with her all her possessions; but in that case the bride-price, if any has been paid, must be restored to her former husband. Natkusiak's rifle, for example, was returned to him when Kaulluak deserted him and went back to her own people. An interesting case was that of a widow named Kullahuk who married a young man named Agluak, but quarrelled with him the very next morning and was severely beaten and dragged in the snow. Immediately she gathered up all her belongings, transferred them to the house of another man named Utugaum and became his wife instead."

1: Jenness--160
116, 597, 586, 839

(1913-16) 1922

Copper Eskimo

"Ikpakhuak adopted an orphan girl named Arnauguk, or Kila. In the spring of 1915 she married a young man Aiyalligak with whom she lived until the winter. For some reason or other he divorced her, and she fell back on Ikpakhuak's hands again. Ikpakhuak married her three or four weeks later to the young divorcee Kikpak. One evening, as she was returning from the dance-house, a man who already had a wife of his own tried to drag her to his hut and force her to spend the night with him. She struggled to release herself, and with the assistance of two other girls tumbled him into the snow and escaped to her hut. Kikpak divorced her after they had been married only a fortnight, and for many months she remained single again, though several natives made overtures to her. Finally she married a western Eskimo from the Mackenzie river delta."

1: Jenness--160 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
586

"It often happens that a girl is divorced, or divorces herself, two or three times within a year. On the other hand instances of genuine affection are not at all uncommon, even before a child is born to cement the union."

1: Jenness--160-161 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 586

"I never knew of any instance where a couple separated after a child was born to them. It does occur, though very rarely. One reason perhaps why it seldom happens is that the wife can still claim to be supported by her husband. Even in childless marriages, if the man divorces his wife and takes another, the [161] first wife still has a claim upon him. Some years before we entered the country Ikpakhuak divorced his wife Kitiksik and married the widow Higilak. He did not see Kitiksik again for many years; in fact he might have forgotten her existence altogether if Higilak had not reminded him occasionally by pouring ridicule on her or inducing others to make jests at her expense. Kitiksik, however, had not forgotten, and when the rumour spread that Ikpakhuak was now a wealthy man she made up her mind to share his prosperity, whether he wanted her or not. Accordingly, in the early spring of 1916, she journeyed westward, and at the beginning of April I found her living alone in a small hut that Ikpakhuak had built for her adjoining his own and Higilak's. Kitiksik was old and ugly, as Higilak had said, and even more voluble than Higilak herself. It was clear that Ikpakhuak and his people did not welcome her, but she had a claim on him which he could not honourably overlook. She rarely entered his hut unless there were other natives present with whom she could converse, for Higilak always affected to ignore her presence, while Ikpakhuak never addressed her except when it was absolutely necessary, and then only in the briefest possible manner. Yet whenever the camp was moved he always made a

separate dwelling for her, and was careful to see that she lacked none of the necessaries of life, such as clothing and bed-skins and blubber for her lamp. Higilak too had to send over some food for her each day. It could hardly be expected, however, that Ikpakhuak should support her indefinitely, so towards the end of spring he paid her relatives to take her east again."

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

the booming of the drum. Were there no war-songs, no chants of victory? They asked me what war meant, for they knew of no enemies except the Indians far to the south, whom they seldom saw and carefully avoided. Surely, then, there were love-songs, songs in which the youth declared his passion and praised his fair one's beauty. No, life was hard, marriage a necessity for all. The maiden must wed a hunter who could provide her with food, clothing, and shelter, and the youth must seek out a bride who would prepare his food and sew his garments. If couples failed to agree, they could separate and find other mates. Beauty, that soon faded, did not help them in the struggle for life's necessities, and romance was stifled. The dance-house was the social hearth. There they chanted their prayers to the mystic powers that controlled the weather, that could shatter the ice-fields or withhold the game; and there, in song, they narrated their adventures and retailed the news from distant tribes. The incantations were their prayers, the dance-songs their chronicle of current events. Ikpuck sang of our polar-bear hunt, and song and story spread far along the coast, growing more garbled and unintelligible at every stage of their journey. The words of his song mattered little; every dancer could improvise new syllables, like the foreigner who sings Italian opera. What counted most was the new melody, bringing joy to the hearts of a people who found in music their